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there were on the average 3.04 equivalent adults to a room. While it would require a separate housing survey before we are able to say definitely whether the families of the class studied all live in overcrowded rooms or not, yet so far as the small amount of evidence disclosed by our present inquiry as well as our personal knowledge of the poor class of families in Peking furnish us any ground for generalization, we feel we can state that for a family of three adults with an income of less than 30 dollars per month, to have one adult to a room is an impossibility. It may be added that housing in Peking by no means represents the worst type in this country and this is to be found in the big cities, like Shanghai, Tientsin etc., where congestion of the worst possible kind obtains. If rapid development of industry and commerce in the cities forces up the cost of land and buildings and consequently house rentals on the one hand and there lacks an enlightened municipal authority to plan the housing of workers or to devise easy transportation facilities for them on the other, overcrowding and slum life are bound to happen. And there is no doubt that overcrowding can never be obliterated in Peking, unless measures are taken by the municipal authorities' to cope with the changing conditions of the city.

HOUSEHOLD EQUIPMENT

To complete the description of the housing conditions of our families, it is worthwhile to study the contents of the room and to make an enumeration of the articles owned by them. When the budget study of the working families was concluded in March, 1927, inventories of all the articles in their possession were taken and estimates were then made of the original and the present cost of each article. Evidently it cannot be urged that the inventories are all exhaustive, for allowances must be made for some articles that escaped the notice of either the informant or the investigator and consequently failed to appear on the lists, nor are the estimates entirely faultless. Nevertheless, they may be considered on the whole accurate and fairly representative of the class of families under investigation.

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352 415 412 Strictly speaking, the inventories of articles do not form a part of our budget inquiry; they have certain characteristics which are not present in the latter. In the first place, the equipment of the household does not necessarily reflect the economic conditions of the family in the current year, for many of the articles might have been, and were in fact purchased years ago. It has been found that families which were considered poor from the standpoint of the income and expense of the year might possess a greater number of articles in the household than even those of a higher economic group. In fact, it is possible to distinguish two kinds of poor families. Some have lived in a condition of poverty for a considerable time, while others, formerly of the comfortable or even of the wealthy class, have been compelled recently to reduce their scale of living to their lowest due to some misfortune or personal incapacity. While the former, as a rule, possesses only the least number of pieces of furniture and household articles for their use in daily life, the latter may still boast of retaining many comparatively valuable things which their present standard of living scarcely permits them to possess. It is, however, likely that even these heirlooms which saw the best days of these families will have to disappear in time, if their economic conditions do not improve. Thus, a historical study of the different families would help us better to understand their possessions, although for our present purpose and in view of the scantiness of their material effects in the home, there is no necessity for us to pursue it.

The articles in the inventories are classified under the following items: household furniture and utensils; kitchen utensils; toilet articles; articles for worship; clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments for women. Evidently, the classification is somewhat arbitrary, for one article having several uses may be grouped under more than one class. For instance, a bowl that is customarily used for holding boiled rice or gruel may also serve as a tea cup when an extra cup is needed. A bamboo basket, a common household utensil for carrying vegetables or other edibles, may be used at times for holding all sorts of things when it is found handy. It is a well-

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known fact that people living under simpler conditions have to use their utensils for a variety of purposes. And it is only in industrially progressive societies that one finds the multiplication of implements and utensils and their increasing differentiation of functions. In compiling the lists, therefore, care has been taken to classify each article according to its primary use, while an article under one class does not preclude the possibility of its being grouped under another.

There are forty-eight inventories altogether. Both the quantity and quality of the articles owned by the families are obviously various and even in this small group are noticeable the gradations of wealth from the standpoint of property. As space does not permit us to reproduce all the inventories, only the cost of the various classes of articles as they were valued at the time of the inquiry are summarized in the following table, while two other lists which lie midway between the families arranged in the order of their value of property are selected as

Table 18.—Average Cost of Clothing and Household Equipment Per Family as Assessed in April 1927, by Income Groups.

Income group	Number of families	Clothes	Bed-clothes	Furniture and utensils	Kitchen utensils	Articles for religious worship	Toilet articles	Ornaments	Miscellaneous	Total
Under $70 ...	3	$ 6.83	$ 2.54	$ 3.47	$ 3.95	—	$ 0.54	$ 0.17	—	$17.50
$ 70-	28	18.57	5.19	6.36	3.12	$ 0.38	.94	1.27	$ 1.57	37.41
$110-	14	30.10	8.91	10.66	4.95	1.32	.95	2.37	6.27	66.25
$150-	3	58.95	13.89	7.48	4.83	—	1.53	1.74	4.21	92.63
All incomes	48	23.72	6.66	7.56	3.81	.61	.96	1.70	3.01	48.03
		PER CENT								
Under $70 ...	.....	39.0	14.5	19.8	22.6	—	3.1	1.0	—	100.0
$ 70-	.....	49.6	13.9	17.0	8.3	1.0	2.5	3.4	4.2	100.0
$110-	.....	45.4	13.4	16.4	7.5	2.0	1.4	4.3	9.5	100.0
$150-	.....	63.6	15.0	8.1	5.2	—	1.7	1.9	4.5	100.0
All incomes	.....	49.4	13.9	15.7	7.9	1.3	2.0	3.5	6.3	100.0

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samples showing the kind and quality of articles which families of the intermediate grade of our class generally possess.

Clothes figure most prominently in Table 18, their average cost being almost half of that of all the property owned by the family. Next to it in the order of cost is the furniture, while bed-clothes follow closely. It is noteworthy that on the average more than 60 per cent of the value of the house property should be taken up by the clothes and bedding combined and that more than 80 per cent of the same by the four main classes of articles, viz. clothes, bed-clothes, furniture and kitchen utensils and implements. It is obvious that the paraphernalia which surround the modern "civilized" man in his domestic life are beyond the means of our poor families. Consequently they are denied the comfort and convenience which modern industrial civilization offers. Yet it may be observed that on the whole the household equipment in their possession seems to have been fairly sufficient for them to lead their simple, uneventful life.

One noteworthy feature in Table 18 is that the cost for furniture and utensils, kitchen utensils, ornaments and miscellaneous items of the third income group is much higher than that of any other group. As has been noted above, this may be explained by the better conditions of some of the families in that group in the past.

In presenting the lists of articles owned by two families, an attempt was made to group them under two classes: things for common use and personal belongings. Under the latter are grouped the clothes, bed-clothes and ornaments. A perusal of them reveals two striking features. One is that the cost of personal belongings exceeds that of household articles. This, as has been shown, is the universal feature of all the families studied. Another feature is that almost all the articles are simple and do not endure, being made of cheaper materials and by manual labour. Some articles are sandware, (such as pans and kettles), others are earthenware (such as basins and bowls), while still others are made of grass or reeds (such as brooms and mats). Products of modern manufacture are insignificantly few; even

Household Equipment and Clothing

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated)		Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present			Original	Present
Total	.....	$104.28	$51.32	Total	.....	$140.03	$64.45
I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	25.16	14.55	I. THINGS FOR COMMON USE:—	.....	58.38	31.81
Household furniture and utensils:	.....	14.94	8.84	Household furniture and utensils:	.....	37.84	20.92
Chest of drawers...	1	3.00	2.00	Desk	1	4.00	2.00
Bench	1	4.00	3.00	Dwarf table	1	1.80	1.00
Boxes, fiber	2	1.00	.50	Cabinet	1	6.00	4.00
Tea pot	1	.60	.40	Boxes	2	4.00	3.00
Tea cups	2	.20	.10	Box, wicker	1	2.00	1.00
Umbrella...	1	2.00	.50	Tea pot	1	.60	.20
Lamp...	1	.20	.10	Tea cups	4	.40	.20
Scissors	1 pair	.20	.08	Tea caddies	2	1.00	.40
Needle work basket	1	.30	.10	Tea tray	1	.40	.30
Foot rule...	1	.10	.05	Wash basin	1	.80	.60
Thimbles, brass ...	2	.04	.02	Scrubbing board ...	1	.10	.05
Brooms	2	.09	.05	Dusters	2	.20	.10
Dust-pan...	1	.15	.10	Umbrella	1	.50	.20
Screen, cloth... ...	1	.40	.10	Lamp...	1	.20	.10
Spade	1	.80	.40	Needle work basket	1	.30	.10
Mat	1	.50	.20	Brooms	3	.14	.07
Mattress, straw ...	1	.06	.02	Dust-pan	1	.20	.05
Flower pots	4	1.20	1.10	Screen, bamboo ...	1	2.00	.30
Pictures	2	.10	.02	Screen, cloth	1	1.00	.40
Kitchen utensils:	.....	7.29	3.96	Spittoon	1	.10	.05
Jars and bottles for condiments... ...	2	.10	.03	Axe	1	.20	.20
Bowls	9	.65	.33	Balance	1	.30	.30
Trays...	3	.33	.10	Clock	1	5.00	2.00
Wine flasks	2	.40	.10	Planks used as bed	1 set	3.00	2.00
Wine cup...	1	.02	.01	Mat	1	.40	.20
Chopsticks	5pairs	.10	.02	Mat used in summer time	1	1.00	.20
Water tank with cover	1	1.20	.60	Chamber pot ...	1	.10	.05

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated)		Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present			Original	Present
Bucket	1	.08	.02	Vase, China	1	1.00	.50
Kettle	1	.10	.05	Tray, China	1	1.00	.80
Stoves, iron	2	1.20	1.10	Pictures	4	.10	.05
Funnel	1	.10	.05	Kitchen utensils:	.....	10.09	4.96
Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05	Jars and bottles for condiments	3	.15	.05
"Stove bricks" supporting pans etc.	3	.02	.01	Bowls	10	.80	.40
Pan, iron	1	.30	.20	Trays	6	.50	30
Pan, sandware	1	.10	.05	Chopsticks	8 pairs	.10	.04
Pan cover	1	.10	.02	Water tanks with covers	2	1.40	.70
Kitchen knife	1	.80	.40	Pitcher	1	.05	.02
Kitchen shovel	1	.10	.05	Urn for pickles	1	.80	.40
Ladles	2	.20	.12	Kettle	1	.10	.05
Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05	Stoves, iron	2	1.80	.80
Kitchen board	1	.40	.20	Funnel	1	.05	.02
Kitchen broom	1	.04	.01	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Cloth wipers	2	.10	.05	Pan, iron	1	30	.20
Flour bag	1	.10	.05	Pans, sandware	2	.20	.10
Rice bag	1	.10	.05	Pan cover	1	.10	.05
Basins, earthen, glazed	5	.45	.24	Kitchen knife	1	.70	.20
				Kitchen shovel	1	.10	.05
Toilet articles:	.....	1.53	0.60	Ladles	9	.82	.45
Wash basin	1	.40	.20	Filter-ladle, wicker	1	.05	.02
Towel	1	.10	.05	Meshwork for steaming	1	.45	.32
Mirror	1	.50	.20	Rod for flattening dough	1	.10	.05
Combs	3	.25	.03	Kitchen board	1	.40	.20
Cup for washing mouth	1	.20	.10	Kitchen broom	1	.02	.01
Tooth brushes	2	.08	.02	Cloth wiper	1	.05	.01
Unclassified:	.....	1.40	1.15	Flour bag	1	.10	.05
Playing cards	1 set	.20	.10	Rice bag	1	.10	.05
Doll	1	.20	.05	Fire sticks	1 pair	.10	.05
Pomegranate	1	1.00	1.00	Wicker basket	1	.20	.10

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Household Equipment and Clothing—(*Continued*)

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated)		Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present			Original	Present
II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	79.12	36.77	Basins, earthen, glazed	3	.25	.12
Head of family: ...	.....	28.90	11.25	Basin, ironstone, glazed	1	.20	.10
Shirts...	3	3.00	1.00	Toilet articles:	.....	2.85	1.40
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.50	Wash basin	1	.10	.05
Coat, double	1	1.00	1.00	Towels	2	.30	.10
Leggings, double...	1	1.00	.40	Mirror	1	.50	.10
Gown, cotton padded...	1	5.00	2.00	Toilet case	1	1.00	.80
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.90	Combs	4	.25	.10
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	.70	Hair oil pots	2	.40	.10
Shoes...	3 pairs	2.00	.50	Hair brush	1	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.50	.20	Soap case...	1	.10	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.60	.05	Shoe brush	1	.10	.05
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20	Articles for worship:	.....	6.40	4.20
Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20	Statue, bronze ...	1	3.00	3.00
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	5.50	2.00	Incense burners ...	2	.40	.20
Mattress	1	3.50	1.50	Candlesticks	2	3.00	1.00
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Unclassified:	.....	1.20	0.33
Wife:	.....	25.00	11.90	Fans	2	.10	.08
Shirts...	4	5.00	2.00	Calendar	1	.10	.05
Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.80	Knife...	1	1.00	.20
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.20	.40	II. PERSONAL BELONGINGS:—	.....	81.65	32.64
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	1.00	Head of family: ...	.....	32.70	14.70
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.40	1.10	Shirts	2	2.00	1.00
Shoes...	2 pairs	.80	.30	Gown...	1	2.40	.80
Shoes, cotton padded...	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Trousers	2 pairs	1.80	.70
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.20	Coat, double	1	1.50	.60
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10	Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.80
Leg-bands	1 pair	.20	.10	Gown, cotton padded	1	5.00	3.00
Hair pins, silver ...	2	3.00	2.50	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.80	.70
Pin, silver	1	.40	.30	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	.60

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Family No. 22				Family No. 26			
Articles	No.	Value (estimated)		Articles	No.	Value (estimated)	
		Original	Present			Original	Present
Earrings, silver	1 pair	.30	.25	Leggings, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Hairnet, thick	1	.10	.05	Shoes	2 pairs	2.00	.40
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.50	Shoes, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.30
Mattress	1	2.00	1.00	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.50
Pillow	1	.20	.10	Socks, knitted	2 pairs	.60	.20
Son:	.....	4.52	2.56	Hat, felt	1	.90	.20
Diapers, infant's	8	1.00	.50	Hat, fur	1	1.90	1.00
Coat, double	1	.40	.20	Gloves	1 pair	1.00	.20
Coats, cotton padded	2	1.00	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	2.00
Shoes	1 pair	.12	.06	Mattress	1	1.90	.80
Hat, cloth	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.00	.80	Wife:	.....	22.85	7.90
Mattress	3	.80	.40	Shirts	2	3.00	1.60
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Trousers	2 pairs	1.60	.60
Daughter 1:	.....	11.40	7.56	Coat, double	1	1.80	.50
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Trousers, double	1 pair	1.20	.80
Trousers	1	.80	.40	Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.70
Trousers, double	1 pair	1.00	.53	Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.50	1.00
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	1.00	Shoes	2 pairs	2.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	1.40	.70	Shoes, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.40
Shoes	2 pairs	.80	.40	Socks, cloth	3 pairs	1.50	.40
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	1.00	.40	Socks, knitted	3 pairs	1.00	.30
Socks, knitted	1 pair	.30	.20	Earrings, silver	1 pair	.30	.10
Handkerchief	1	.10	.08	Hair pin, silver	1	.15	.10
Coverlet, cotton padded	1	1.50	.50	Coverlet, cotton padded	1	4.00	1.00
Mattress	1	.80	.30	Mattress	1	2.00	.40
Pillow	1	.10	.05	Pillow	1	.20	.10
Daughter 2:	.....	9.30	5.50	Son 1:	.....	7.00	1.64
Shirts	2	2.00	1.00	Shirt	1	1.00	.50
Trousers	2 pairs	1.00	1.50	Trousers, double	1 pair	.60	.20

Household Equipment and Clothing—*(Continued)*

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Family No. 22

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Present
Coat, double	1	1.40	.70
Trousers, double ...	1 pair	1.00	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.60	.80
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.00	.50
Shoes...	1 pair	.10	.05
Socks, cloth	2 pairs	.80	.40
Socks, knitted ...	1 pair	.20	.15
Handkerchief ...	1	.10	.05
Pillow	1	.10	.05

Family No. 26

Articles	No.	Value (estimated) Original	Present
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.40	.20
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.20
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.05
Socks, knitted ...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Leg-bands	1 pair	.10	.04
Hat, felt	1	.80	.20
Shawl	1	1 00	.10
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 2:	.....	7.20	2.65
Trousers	1 pair	1.00	.40
Coat, double	1	1.40	.30
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.50	1.00
Trousers, cotton padded	1 pair	1.20	.40
Shoes	2 pairs	.60	.20
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	1.00	.10
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.20
Pillow	1	.10	.05
Son 3:	.....	2.70	.75
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.40
Trousers, cotton padded	2 pairs	.80	.20
Hat, cloth	1	.40	.05
Diapers, infant's	2	.50	.10
Daughter:	.....	9.20	5.00
Shirts	3	2.40	1.00
Coat, double	1	1.50	.70
Coat, cotton padded	1	1.00	.50
Trousers, cotton padded	1	.80	.40
Shoes...	2 pairs	.40	.10
Socks, knitted ...	3 pairs	.30	.05
Bracelets, silver ...	1 pair	2.00	1.80
Earrings, silver ...	1 pair	.30	.20
Ring, silver	1	.30	.20
Pillow	1	.20	.05

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352 china, glass ware, metallic ware, and wooden furniture are con-
415 sidered high-class and expensive. If we except cotton cloth,
412 enamel ware and other manufactured commodities, and, of course, kerosene, modern machine production may indeed be said to have little effect, except perhaps indirectly, on the life of our families. It seems that by means of native production, sufficient quantities and kinds of articles are supplied to the primitive needs of them. This, it must be remembered, represents the prevailing condition of the material equipment of the poor families in Peking, a town which may claim to be modern in having a water system, electric light, trains, motor-cars, telephones and even the radio. Now if the poor families of the modern town still have to live in such a simple and unpretentious material environment that forms the arena of their domestic life, how can the mass of Chinese peasants living in the interior and out of the way districts expect to have anything better? Under such circumstances, neither dumping nor salesmanship, nor any other modern means of creating the demand will help these poor people to make use of manufactured articles. Obviously, in order to raise their standard of life, one must raise the level of their earnings.

CLOTHING

291 Among the principal items of expenditure, clothing formed but less than 7 per cent of the total. The figure is indeed incredibly low and it seems all but conceivable that the average expenses for clothing per family in six months should have been only $1.03 for the lowest income group and $6.94 for all the groups. However, reasons are not wanting to illumine such an appalling phenomenon among the poorer classes of families.

In the first place, the low incomes received by them did not permit even an adequate spending of money on clothing. Both the food and the house rent being charges which they must meet, no matter how they are met, clothing would naturally be the first item on which they would save as much as conditions permit.